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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 73/NO. 21 JUNE 1, 2009

INSIDE

Gerardo Hernández, one of Cuban 5, speaks from U.S. jail

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Int'l youth conference: free Cuban Five now!

BY JACOB PERASSO AND PETER PIERCE

HAVANA—Delegates from countries around the world gathered here May 11–12 to discuss the international campaign to win freedom for five Cuban revolutionaries who have been unjustly locked up in U.S. jails for more than a decade.

Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, and René González were in south Florida monitoring rightist groups that have a history of carrying out deadly attacks on Cuba. They were arrested in Miami in September 1998 and later convicted in a political frame-up trial on charges including failure to register as foreign agents, conspiracy to commit espionage, and, in the case of Hernández, conspiracy to commit murder.

The gathering—the Second International Youth Meeting in Solidarity

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JOIN JUNE 6–8 ACTIONS TO FREE THE CUBAN FIVE!

—See editorial, p. 9

2 million displaced by war in Pakistan

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Pakistan's army assault against Taliban forces in the country's northwest Swat Valley and surrounding region has resulted in the biggest dislocation of the population since the country was formed in 1947 with the partition of India.

The fighting has displaced nearly 1.5 million people in two weeks. This is in addition to 550,000 internal refugees who had already fled fighting in their home towns from a number of areas in the northwest since August.

Backing the assault, U.S. president Barack Obama made clear that a five-year aid package to Pakistan worth $1.5 billion a year would be conditional on the Pakistani government fighting "terrorism."

Between 12,000 and 15,000 army troops are involved in the assault in the districts of Swat, Dir, and Buner, launched April 26 against an estimated 4,000 Taliban fighters. According to the army, more than 900 Islamist fighters and 48 soldiers have been killed.

"It's horror. The Taliban are shelling us, and the army is shelling us. They've brought us hell," Bakht Rana, who fled Swat's main city of Mingora May 15, told the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Swat Taliban had signed a peace agreement with the Pakistani govern-

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2009 Socialist Education and Active Workers Conference set for June 18–20

The 2009 Socialist Education and Active Workers Conference, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists, will take place in Oberlin, Ohio, June 18–20.

The three-day conference takes place as the capitalist crisis continues to extend worldwide, with devastating social and political consequences of a kind the working class has not confronted in many decades.

Conference discussions will draw on experiences from around the world, about the working-class line of march toward a proletarian revolution, and the opportunities today to attract new forces toward the communist movement.

The conference will feature a program of several major presentations by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, as well as a series of classes on the political themes of the conference.

Among the classes being prepared are ones that highlight the political writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on the European intervention in Mexico at the time of the Second American Revolution—the U.S. Civil War. Other classes will explain the inspiring example the victory over slavery in that war had on revolutionary developments in Mexico and Cuba.

These classes will complement the important work being carried out to build the International Conference on Martí, Juárez, and Lincoln, which will take place in Monterrey, Mexico, October 15–17.

There will also be film showings, social activities, and special gatherings for first-time participants in the conference.

On Sunday, June 21, a day of workshops is being organized by supporters of the communist movement to advance the publishing of revolutionary books. There will also be a meeting of all young people who attended the conference interested in the work of building a communist youth organization.

Workers and students who are interested in attending the conference should contact representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists at the addresses listed on page 8 of this paper.

—PAUL MAILHOT

Free Troy Davis! Stop the execution!

Worldwide actions protest frame-up

Militant/Eddie Beck

Kimberly Davis leads chant at May 19 rally at Georgia State Capitol in Atlanta demanding freedom for her brother, Troy Davis, who was framed up and sentenced to death in 1991 in killing of Savannah, Georgia, cop. U.S. Supreme Court will soon decide if it will hear his appeal.

BY LISA POTASH

ATLANTA, May 19—Spearheading a global day of action to stop the execution of Troy Davis, nearly 500 rallied in a spirited protest today outside the Georgia State Capitol.

Amnesty International USA Southern Regional Director Jared Feuer reported that actions took place in 28 countries.

Davis, who is Black, was arrested in 1989 and convicted in 1991 for the killing of Mark MacPhail, a white police officer in Savannah, Georgia. Rallies, protests, and an international campaign on his behalf have resulted in Davis's three previous execution dates being postponed.

On April 16 the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals denied his appeal for a new trial. Davis's attorneys are asking Chatham County's district attorney to hold off issuing a death warrant in order to allow Davis to exhaust an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Martina Correia, a sister of Davis and a leader of the defense campaign, urged his supporters to continue the fight. "The Troy Davis case opens a window into the 'old' South," she said in thanking those in attendance. "We're not weak, we're not silent! Keep standing, talking, fighting!"

Troy Davis called in by phone to thank his supporters and to urge them to keep up the fight.

The size and prominent participants in the rally reflected the growing support for Davis's fight. The rally was chaired by Lorraine Jacques White, a popular local radio host. Rev. Charles White, national field director of the NAACP, and Edward Dubose, Georgia State NAACP Conference president, were among the speakers.

Rev. Raphael Warnock, senior pastor at Ebenezer Baptist Church, spoke,

Continued on page 9

Welcome to new 'Militant' readers!

BY BEN JOYCE

The *Militant* welcomes the 2,129 workers, students, and others who subscribed to this socialist newsweekly during the recent seven-week campaign to expand the paper's readership. We congratulate everyone who helped in this successful effort.

Facing a worldwide capitalist economic crisis, the bosses and their government are waging a counterrevolutionary assault against the gains won by working people in past decades. This week's issue sheds light on the government's plans to slash Social Security and Medicare, two entitlements won by working people through the historic labor battles of the 1930s and extended during the mass working-class movement that smashed Jim Crow segregation against Blacks.

We also run articles this week on the rulers' expanding imperialist war drive and the attacks on our rights and political space here at home.

The *Militant* is an indispensable tool for working people involved in struggles, pointing to the need to

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Int'l conference in Canada discusses Cuban Revolution

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

KINGSTON, Ontario—An international conference marking the 50th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution took place here May 7–9. Titled "The Measure of a Revolution: Cuba, 1959-2009," it was hosted by Queen's University in Kingston and cosponsored by the University of North Carolina and the University of Havana.

Some 300 people participated in the broad-ranging event that included more than 180 presentations organized in nearly 50 panels covering topics as diverse as sex education and Cuba's economy. More than half the participants came from the United States. Thirty-nine came from Cuba. Leading the delegation from Cuba were Ricardo Alarcón, president of Cuba's National Assembly, Josefina Vidal, North America director for Cuba's foreign ministry, and Cristina Díaz, a vice rector of the University of Havana.

The event was held in Canada in part because of Washington's policies of denying visas for Cubans traveling to the United States and prohibiting travel by almost all U.S. residents to the island. In 1989 a similar conference was held in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

The conference on Cuba was preceded at the same location by a conference of the Canadian African Studies Association. The two events held one day of joint panels focused on Cuba and Africa.

U.S. government policy toward Cuba was a central topic of discussion at the conference, with many participants expressing the opinion that the Obama administration will ease or lift the U.S. trade embargo against that nation.

In the opening plenary, Cuban foreign ministry official Vidal said, "Cuba cannot be asked to give up its form of government as a condition to reestablish normal relations with the United States. That position is a nonstarter." She was addressing recent White House statements putting demands on Cuba as a condition for moves toward lifting travel restrictions on Americans and other measures that have been part of Washington's 50-year economic war aimed at punishing the Cuban people for making a socialist revolution.

Also speaking at the opening was Robert Pastor, who served as President James Carter's national security advisor for Latin America from 1977–81. Pastor, a professor at American University, reiterated his support for Washington's half-century-long course of demanding "change" in Cuba in exchange for an easing of the U.S. embargo. "President Obama has taken some significant steps and is now looking forward to Cuba taking some appropriate steps in response," Pastor said, referring to the administration's recent decision to lift restrictions on Cuban Americans traveling to Cuba and related moves.

"What 'steps' would be appropriate?" asked the following speaker, John Kirk, a professor at Dalhousie University and one of the conference organizers. "Should Cuba commit itself to not invade the United States? Should it commit itself to not impose an embargo on Cuban-made goods entering the U.S.?" he said with irony.

At the closing session, Alarcón said the new U.S. administration's decision to maintain the embargo is "the continuation of an illegal, unjustifiable, and failed policy." Obama's recent actions are "nothing more than a partial return to the situation before the Bush administration," and were taken for domestic political reasons, "because of the unpopularity of those restrictions in the Cuban-American community," Alarcón added. "If the current administration wants us to believe that there is a change, then free the Cuban Five." He was referring to five Cuban revolutionaries who have been unjustly held in U.S. prisons for more than 10 years for "conspiracy to commit espionage," "conspiracy to commit murder," and other frame-up charges.

Militant/Eric Simpson

Panel on "Revolution and Cuban Culture" at May 7–9 conference "The Measure of a Revolution: Cuba, 1959–2009" held in Kingston, Ontario.

Canadian gov't policy toward Cuba

An exchange also took place on Canadian government policy toward Cuba. José Curto, a professor at York University in Toronto who chaired a workshop on "Cuba's role and influence in fighting apartheid and colonial domination in Africa," said that many Angolan leaders he talked with charged that "the Cubans plundered Angola" when Cuban volunteer troops left Angola after a nearly 16-year internationalist mission helping defeat the invasion of that newly independent country by the apartheid regime of South Africa. When challenged from the floor by a speaker asking for facts, Curto responded that it would be inappropriate for him to say more as he was only chairing the panel.

In response to another question from the audience on "Canada's strong opposition to Cuba's role in Angola and in the fight against apartheid," panelist Isaac Saney from Dalhousie University noted that Ottawa cut its "aid" to Cuba for more than a decade in protest against Cuba's actions in defense of Angola's independence, which also hastened the demise of the apartheid regime.

Later in the conference, Vidal noted that the Canadian government rejected Cuba's offer to send volunteer medical teams to Haiti in collaboration with Ottawa's paying for the medicine.

Speaking at a panel entitled "Engagement or Isolation: The Present State of Cuba within North America," Mark Entwistle, a former Canadian ambassador to Cuba, claimed that "Canada has been wholly disinterested in regime change in Cuba." Jorge Domínguez of Harvard University, who is no friend of the Cuban Revolution, replied that while Ottawa used different means—without a trade embargo—its fundamental objective has been the same as Washington's: "regime change."

Cuban poet and national literary prize winner Nancy Morejón was one of several Cuban artists who helped lead a number of panels and plenary sessions on cultural questions in Cuba.

The race question in Cuba was the focus of several panels, with some participants trying to use the issue to discredit the revolution.

In one panel, after several participants raised questions about "racism in Cuba," Barbara Morita from Disaster Medical Response in California

Continued on page 3

THE MILITANT

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U.S. gov't projects cuts in retirees entitlements

BY BEN JOYCE

The Obama administration projects a budget that suspends cost-of-living raises in Social Security payments in 2010 and 2011. A quarter of Medicare recipients would also face unprecedented raises in monthly premiums.

The annual report issued by the boards of trustees of Social Security and Medicare this year—which claims that the two federal programs are running out of money—seeks to lay the basis for deeper cuts in the future. The report says that the entitlements are "not sustainable under current program parameters" and that a "Medicare funding warning" is in effect. The boards urged the federal government to "take action."

Social Security was won by working people in the mid-1930s in the midst of a massive upsurge in the labor movement. These and other social welfare programs were extended substantially in the 1960s and early '70s as a direct result of the mass working-class movement for Black rights. In this context Medicare became available to all those receiving Social Security.

Automatic cost-of-living adjustments in Social Security so that benefits keep up with inflation were won in 1975. In 2009, the estimated average increase was $63 per month or 5.8 percent, bringing average monthly payments to $1,153. The raise in 2008 was only $24. The federal budget, based on the claim that inflation is low, assumes there will be no increase until 2012, and then only a 1.4 percent raise.

According to a study done by the Senior Citizens League, expenses such as housing, food, transportation, communication, and other basic needs have outpaced cost-of-living adjustments by nearly two-fold in the last nine years. Since 2000, average benefits have risen by 31 percent, while typical costs have risen by 58 percent.

Meanwhile, one-quarter of the 45 million people who receive Medicare benefits "will be subject to unusually large premium increases in the next two years," says the trustees' report.

The increase will come in premiums for Part B Medicare insurance, which covers doctors' fees, outpatient hospital care, and other health services. Most recipients pay around $96 per month. Under federal law, premiums for most beneficiaries cannot go up more than the annual cost-of-living increase.

But one-quarter of Part B recipients are not protected by this provision. They face premium increases even though they will not receive a cost-of-living raise—an effective cut in their benefits. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the Part B premium will rise to $119 next year and to $123 in 2011.

The *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* reports that average Medicare Part B premiums have risen some 112 percent in the last nine years.

Cost-of-living adjustments are based on the official Consumer Price Index that is calculated by the government. In the wake of the economic recession of the 1970s, Washington adjusted the CPI to "smooth out" price fluctuations by removing food and energy costs from the calculation of "core" inflation.

Further "adjustments" in CPI calculations came under the Clinton administration. Today the official index is a fraction of what it would have been before the revised calculation methods, lowering the standard of living for tens of millions of working people who depend on these payments for survival.

New Zealand airline workers strike for equal pay

Militant/Terry Coggan

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—"Air New Zealand is ripping us off" was the message delivered loud and clear by 40 chanting flight attendants from Zeal 320 at a picket outside the main terminal at Auckland International Airport May 8. The action was one of several staged by workers as part of their fight for a contract, which would give them pay parity with cabin crew employed directly by Air New Zealand, the country's major airline. The company locked out 240 flight attendants after their union, the Engineering, Printing, and Manufacturing Union (EPMU), gave a four-day strike notice.

Zeal 320 is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Air New Zealand. It was set up to supply cabin crew to Freedom Air, a budget airline also owned by Air New Zealand, at rates of pay and conditions considerably less than those paid to other Air New Zealand flight attendants. "We wear Air New Zealand uniforms and do the same job as Air New Zealand crew, but get between 30 and 40 percent less," EPMU delegate Stratos Scanlan told the *Militant*.

Air New Zealand workers visited the picket line to drop off several boxes of donuts, along with a message that read: "To our brave Zeal crew. You are an example to all of us. One airline, one crew. Stand tall."

—TERRY COGGAN

'Militant' Fund exceeds goal in final week

BY ANGEL LARISCY

With one week to go in the campaign to raise $105,000 to support the *Militant* newspaper we have already surpassed the goal! In addition, supporters of the socialist newsweekly in every city and country are on or ahead of schedule as we enter the final stretch. As a result we are in a position to go substantially over in the last week.

The annual *Militant* fund helps to make it possible to respond to political developments wherever they break out and send reporters to important events around the globe. This year's successful fund-raising effort has gone hand in hand with supporters of the paper selling more than 2,100 new and renewal subscriptions to the *Militant*.

The contributions made by readers of the paper are already being put to good use. This week's issue features reports on two important meetings on Cuba. Some 300 people met in Kingston, Ontario, May 7–9, which included presentations and panels on a diverse range of topics. In Havana participants in the May 11–12 Second International Youth Meeting in Solidarity with the Cuban Five mapped out plans to step up the campaign to win freedom for the five revolutionaries being held unjustly in U.S. jails. It's unique coverage like this that makes the *Militant* such a valuable tool for workers and students.

The fund also covers the socialist paper's regular operating expenses such as rent, equipment maintenance, and shipping.

Over the next week supporters of the *Militant* around the world will be following up on outstanding payments of all pledges, collecting the last contributions, and getting the money in by the May 27 deadline. The concluding chart will run in next week's issue.

Help push the fund effort well over the top! Send your contribution to a distributor near you or to the *Militant* at 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

'Militant' Fund Drive
Spring 2009 ♦ Week 7 of 8

Country	Quota	Paid	%
UNITED STATES			
Houston	**$3,000**	**$3,235**	**108%**
Chicago	**$9,000**	**$9,549**	**106%**
Twin Cities, MN	**$6,600**	**$6,906**	**105%**
New York	**$15,500**	**$16,181**	**104%**
Philadelphia*	**$3,600**	**$3,690**	**103%**
Washington, D.C.*	**$5,400**	**$5,582**	**103%**
Des Moines, IA	**$1,900**	**$1,848**	**97%**
Miami	**$3,300**	**$3,183**	**96%**
Atlanta	**$8,000**	**$7,512**	**94%**
Boston	**$2,800**	**$2,625**	**94%**
Seattle*	**$7,200**	**$6,784**	**94%**
San Francisco	**$13,000**	**$11,696**	**90%**
Los Angeles	**$8,800**	**$7,824**	**89%**
Newark, NJ	**$3,200**	**$2,811**	**88%**
Other		$550	
TOTAL	**$91,300**	**$89,975**	**99%**
CANADA*	**$7,500**	**$8,787**	**117%**
NEW ZEALAND	**$2,500**	**$3,070**	**123%**
UNITED KINGDOM			
London	**$1,500**	**$1,910**	**127%**
Edinburgh	**$500**	**$589**	**118%**
TOTAL	**$2,000**	**$2,499**	**125%**
AUSTRALIA	**$1,050**	**$1,090**	**104%**
SWEDEN	**$400**	**$550**	**138%**
TOTAL	$104,750	$105,971	101%
Should be	$105,000	$91,875	88%

***Raised quota**

Conference debates Cuba

Continued from page 2

responded, "Based on my personal experience, the revolution in Cuba means that words don't mean the same in the United States and Cuba. Divisions are much deeper in the United States where racism is a question of life and death."

Pedro Pérez-Sarduy, a Cuban poet and writer who now teaches at the Caribbean Studies Center of the London Metropolitan University, told the audience that to understand anything about the question of race in Cuba you have to start from two revolutionary turning points. One was the Cuban Revolution itself, with the transformation of class and race relations that it opened. The other was the 1979–83 revolution in Grenada—a largely Black nation in the Caribbean—under the leadership of Maurice Bishop, and the impact it had among Cubans, especially Cubans who are Black.

In contrast with the 1989 Halifax conference, which had turned into a heated political confrontation between defenders of the Cuban Revolution and its enemies, the many prominent right-wing anticommunist "experts" who hold teaching posts in major U.S. universities were absent from the Kingston conference. And much of the discussion treated "Cuba" as if it existed in an isolated, timeless bubble. Virtually the only speaker who mentioned the world capitalist economic crisis or its potential impact on Cuba was Ricardo Alarcón in his keynote speech at the conclusion of the conference.

But the Kingston conference on "The Measure of a Revolution" was an impressive reminder that the first socialist revolution in the Americas continues to be the touchstone of class struggle in our hemisphere and the world.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Revolutionary Legacy of Martí, Lincoln, and Juárez: Lessons for Political Struggles Today. Speaker: John Studer, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 30. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. *188 W Wyoming Ave. Tel.: (215) 455-2682.*

—CALENDAR—

CANADA

Toronto

Celebrate the Publication in Chinese of *Our History Is Still Being Written: The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: Dick Chan, Song Ge, Karen Sun of Chinese Canadian National Council; Emily Lefebvre, student at Queen's University; Jorge Soberón, Consul General, Cuban Consulate in Toronto; Mary-Alice Waters, editor *Our History Is Still Being Written*, president Pathfinder Press. Sat., June 6. Reception, 1 p.m.; program, 2 p.m. *Agincourt Community Centre. 31 Glen Watford Drive. Bus 85 from Don Mills station, bus 57 from Kennedy Station. Tel.: (416) 596-0833 Ext. 3. E-mail: info@ccnctoronto.ca.*

Cuban 5 youth conference

Continued from front page
with the Cuban Five—decided to call for international days of action June 6–8 to raise awareness of the case and to demand that the U.S. government release the prisoners.

In the coming month the U.S. Supreme Court will be considering whether to accept a petition to review an appellate court decision that rejected defense arguments that the five were prevented by the political atmosphere in Miami from receiving a fair trial.

The conference also decided to deepen the work of reaching out—especially in the United States—to campuses, media outlets, prominent artists, academic and religious figures, and others to broaden awareness of the case and to win new support.

The 145 mostly young delegates at the conference came from 42 countries and 82 organizations. Dozens of youth from Cuba attended. The two-day agenda was built around a series of short presentations followed by ample time for discussion, questions, and comments.

'An eminently political case'

Ricardo Alarcón, the conference keynote speaker and president of the Cuban National Assembly, explained that the place to focus demands to free the five is on the U.S. government.

"The United States government could right now resolve this question simply with the stroke of a pen," Alarcón told the delegates. "With a signature of the president our fight would be finished and the injustice against our five comrades would be over."

Alarcón mentioned that the U.S. government dropped the charges May 1 against Keith Weissman and Steven Rosen, two men accused of spying for Israel. Action by the U.S. administration and its Justice Department could also be taken in the case of the five, he said.

Olga Salanueva, the wife of René González, spoke about the political character of the case.

"We are always optimists but we are not divorced from reality," she told the delegates. "Everyone would be very happy if the Supreme Court would declare them innocent and send them to Cuba. But we shouldn't delude ourselves, this is not a legal case, it is an eminently political case."

Salanueva pointed to the examples of Nelson Mandela, who spent nearly three decades in prison, and the five Puerto Rican independence fighters—Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, and Oscar Collazo—who were imprisoned in the United States for more than 25 years.

"They were liberated after many years of imprisonment, due to the struggle and international solidarity of many people," she explained. "Not because of the justice system."

Case before Supreme Court

Attorneys for the five have now filed a petition asking the U.S. Supreme Court to review whether the five received a fair trial. The court, which receives some 10,000 new cases each year and decides to hear a small fraction of them, will announce the cases it has chosen to hear before the current session ends in June.

In addition 12 *amicus curiae*—"friend of the court"—briefs have been filed before the Supreme Court by national and international jurist and human rights organizations requesting review of lower court rulings.

The petition centers on three points: that the decision by government prosecutors to strike seven jurors who were Black was discriminatory; that the request by the defense for a change of venue due to pervasive anti-Castro prejudice in Miami was well founded and should have been granted; and finally, that the conviction of Hernández—without any evidence to support the charge—of conspiracy to commit murder "illustrates the manifest unfairness" of the trial.

Hernández was charged with involvement in the 1996 shootdown by the Cuban air force of two planes piloted by members of Brothers to the Rescue. That organization had staged numerous provocative flights into Cuban airspace before the two planes were shot down over Cuban territorial waters. Evidence introduced during the trial cited the long record of involvement with CIA-sponsored deadly attacks against Cuba by the group's central leader, José Basulto.

Militant/Tom Baumann

Youth from Western Sahara speaks during discussion session of Second International Youth Meeting in Solidarity with the Cuban Five in Havana May 11–12. Some 145 delegates from 42 countries around the world participated in the conference.

The international conference also called for stepping up the fight to win visas for Adriana Pérez, the wife of Hernández, and Salanueva. The two women have been denied visas to see their husbands for nearly 11 years and nine years, respectively.

Pérez described the visa denial as "a form of cruelty and psychological torture" directed at the two men and their families.

"In our case, we have been refused entry into the United States because the authorities have argued that Olga and I could represent a danger to the security of the United States," Pérez said. Part of this campaign is tied to the U.S. government's charge that Cuba promotes "terrorism," she noted. The island was included again this year on the U.S. State Department's so-called state promoters of terrorism list.

"We are making the 10th request for a visa for me," Pérez said. "It is the first request under the new government of Obama, but we cannot sit and trust in the good will or intentions of the new administration. We must pressure, fight for the rights of visitation for all of the five."

Pérez urged participants to write letters to U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton and Homeland Security chief Janet Napolitano demanding that they be granted visas.

In her report to the conference, Kenia Serrano, president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples, noted the breadth of international support for the case.

There are 147 countries with Cuba friendship associations and 111 countries with solidarity organizations, she reported. In Asia alone there are 119 solidarity organizations in 31 countries. Within Cuba there are 70 centers organized to fight on behalf of the five.

Serrano said that the United States is the main target, with a focus on U.S. public opinion. She reported that there are 28 solidarity committees in 17 states. There is great, untapped potential in the United States to win support, she noted.

"It's not just U.S. citizens," she added. "There are immigrants in the United States from around the world. We should reach out to the leaderships of the groups that represent them."

Tom Baumann also contributed to this article.

Unemployment jumps in April by half million

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The official unemployment rate jumped to 8.9 percent in April, up from 8.5 percent a month earlier, reported the U.S. Department of Labor. The *Wall Street Journal*, echoed by other capitalist media, presented this figure as a "moderated" pace of "job losses" and a sign that the economy might be recovering.

That won't come as heartening news to the 539,000 workers who had their jobs eliminated by the bosses last month, according to government figures. It brings the number of jobs cut since the recession began in December 2007 to 5.7 million.

There are now 13.7 million workers on the unemployment rolls. In addition, 2.1 million are categorized as "marginally attached" to the workforce, meaning although they're out of work the government doesn't count them as unemployed. Another 8.9 million workers, unable to get full-time jobs, have been forced into part-time hours. This brings the unemployed and underemployment rate to 15.8 percent, compared to 9.2 percent a year ago.

Of those officially listed as jobless, 27.2 percent were unemployed for more than six months, the highest figure on record, according to the *New York Times*. Among the reasons the job cuts in April were lower than the upwardly revised figure of 699,000 job cuts in March is that the government hired 72,000 temporary workers to prepare for the 2010 census.

Manufacturing companies cut 149,000 jobs in April, bringing the total production jobs eliminated since September 2008 to 1.6 million. Construction bosses last month slashed 110,000 jobs.

The official unemployment rate for Blacks is 15 percent, up by 1.7 percent from the previous month. For Latinos the rate is 11.3 percent; for teenagers it's 21.5 percent.

Welcome to 'Militant' readers

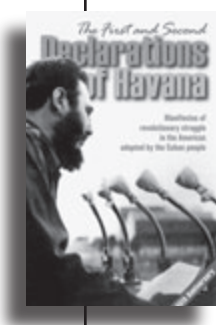
Continued from front page
unite our class and its allies along a revolutionary course for taking political power. Supporters of the paper in cities across the United States and internationally participated in a wide range of political activity, social protests, and public meetings where they met new people interested in this perspective.

Mobilizations of immigrant workers demanding legalization across the United States, meetings on campuses to discuss the example of Cuba's socialist revolution and its importance today, and ongoing protests against the execution of framed-up death-row inmate Troy Davis are among the recent examples where new readers were attracted to the socialist newsweekly.

We encourage all of our readers to send in correspondence on strikes, protests, and other fights taking place at your job, in your city, or on your campus.

Supporters of the *Militant* will continue to get this working-class perspective into the hands of working who need it. To help in this ongoing effort contact a distributor listed on page 8.

Cuba's revolutionary example today



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Armando Choy, Gustavo Chui, and Moisés Sío Wong talk about the historic place of Chinese immigration to Cuba, as well as more than five decades of revolutionary action. **—$20**

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Iowa: hundreds march 1 year after 'migra' raid

BY DAVID ROSENFELD AND MAGGIE TROWE

POSTVILLE, Iowa, May 12—Today more than 700 supporters of immigrant rights marked the anniversary of the massive 2008 police raid here that swept up 389 immigrant workers. The demonstrators attended a vigil and marched to the site of the raid, the Agriprocessors beef and poultry plant.

Last year's raid evoked widespread outrage among working people, who immediately responded with broad protest actions.

Marchers, most of them U.S.-born, came today from throughout Iowa and from Minnesota and Illinois. Dozens of students from nearby Luther College took part.

Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergy led a testimony and prayer vigil before the march, in which some of the meatpacking workers spoke out against the raid.

The protest took place less than two weeks after May Day actions for immigrant rights in dozens of U.S. cities and a week after the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a unanimous decision that greatly restricts the use of felony "identity theft" laws to prosecute immigrants.

In 2004 Congress adopted "identity theft" laws against using social security numbers and other identification of other people and imposing a two-year prison term.

In a blow to government harassment of immigrant workers, the Supreme Court ruled that these laws may not be used against immigrants unless the government can prove the immigrant knew that the means of identification belonged to another person.

In 2008 federal prosecutors used the threat of felony convictions for identity theft to railroad hundreds of Agriprocessors workers to prison following the largest factory immigration raid at a single site in U.S. history.

After the mass arrests, workers, shackled hand and foot, were herded into the Cattle Congress fairgrounds in nearby Waterloo for group trials. Some 300 were hastily convicted and sentenced over the course of just four days. Most pleaded guilty to lesser charges after being threatened with prosecution for felony identity theft.

Many were given five-month jail sentences followed by deportation to Guatemala or Mexico. Others were immediately deported. A few have been given work visas in exchange for testifying against the company.

Iowa City attorney Rockne Cole hailed the high court decision and told the *Des Moines Register* that without the threat of the identity theft charges, some of the workers would probably have pled "not guilty" and fought their cases in court.

Following the decision, the American Immigration Lawyers Association called on Attorney General Eric Holder to dismiss the guilty pleas in cases where the threat of prosecution under the identity theft laws "was a miscarriage of justice."

There had been some indication of brewing struggle at the plant prior to the raid. In 2007 some 200 workers walked off the job after the company had announced it received "no-match" letters from the Social Security Administration. A number of workers had been working with the United Food and Commercial Workers union to unionize the plant at the time of the raid.

On the day of raid, 200 people demonstrated outside the makeshift prison where the workers were being held. Local protests included workers who were Black, white, and Latino as well as high school students.

Over the next several weeks, marches and rallies grew in size and scope, attracting workers and youth from the broader region. In late July 1,500 marched through this town of 3,000.

Hundreds of people sent messages and financial contributions to those affected by the arrests. More than $1 million in contributions from people in 49 states has been received by St. Bridget's Catholic Church, which centralized relief efforts.

The government's attack has had a devastating impact not only on those arrested and deported, but on their friends, families, and coworkers, and on the small town they lived in. The town's population has dropped from 3,000 before the raid to 1,800 today.

However, a fighting spirit was evident at the Postville protest. Reporter Jens Manuel Krogstad of the *Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier* wrote, "Despite the criticisms and remembrances, smiles far outnumbered tears on May 12 this year."

Militant photos by Natalie Morrison (left); Jenny Shegos

Left, meat packer Noemí Urtado in ankle bracelet she is forced to wear since her 2008 arrest, at this year's march against Iowa immigration raid. Right, workers protest days after raid in 2008.

"More than anything, we demand of the government to give justice and equal treatment for all," said Sebastian Upun, as he prepared to march toward the Agriprocessors plant, where he worked until the raid.

Noemí Urtado, 28, a single mother born in Cocula, Mexico, pushed her daughter in a stroller in the protest, bearing the electronic monitoring ankle bracelet she has been required to wear since she was arrested in the raid. Other former Agriprocessors workers fighting deportation also marched.

Brian McKenna, a 47-year-old laid-off worker from a John Deere plant, drove four hours to participate in the march, explaining, "I'm here because I've been in the same boat. I've been out of work. I've been hungry. I've been exploited."

Vigils in Iowa also took place in Des Moines, Waterloo, and Sioux City to mark the raid's anniversary.

Pennsylvania jury acquits 2 in killing of immigrant

BY JANET POST

PHILADELPHIA—An all-white jury in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, acquitted two white youths May 1 in the beating death of 25-year-old Mexican immigrant Luis Ramírez last July in Shenandoah. Ramírez worked for six years in the factories and fields of northeastern Pennsylvania.

Brandon Piekarsky, 17, was acquitted of third-degree murder and ethnic intimidation. Derrick Donchak, 19, was acquitted of aggravated assault and ethnic intimidation. Both were convicted on the lesser charge of simple assault. It is possible they will serve no prison time.

Ramírez died of severe head trauma on July 14, 2008, after being beaten to the ground and then kicked in the head two days earlier by several Shenandoah youth. During the attack, the assailants yelled racial slurs, according to eyewitnesses.

At the preliminary hearing, witness Eileen Burke testified that she heard Piekarsky yell at a friend of Ramírez at the scene, "Tell your . . . Mexican friends to get the f. . . out of Shenandoah or you'll be laying next to him."

During the trial the prosecution showed a photo of Donchak at a Halloween party three months after Ramirez's death. He was wearing a T-shirt with the words "U.S. Border Patrol" written on it.

Defense attorneys said Ramírez was the aggressor and described the case as "a street fight that ended tragically," reported the Associated Press.

A third youth, 17-year-old Colin Walsh, also assaulted Ramírez and is in federal prison for violating his civil rights. Walsh testified against Piekarsky and Donchak. The third-degree murder charge against him was dropped in April.

Brian Scully, 18, is charged in juvenile court with assault and ethnic intimidation. He testified that he shouted ethnic slurs at Ramírez and told him to "go back to Mexico."

There has been much discussion of the verdict in Shenandoah. Noreen Bayliff told the Hazleton *Standard-Speaker*, "If it was the other way around, they'd be hung. The man died: his status of being illegal is not the issue. . . . I was born in Belfast. I saw some of it when I first came here, but not as much as with the Mexicans."

Gladys Limón, an attorney for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), attended the trial and called the verdict "a complete outrage." She said MALDEF calls for federal charges to be filed in the case.

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THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

June 1, 1984

TOLEDO, Ohio—A battle erupted in the streets of this city on May 21 when cops attacked a demonstration of more than 3,000 auto workers in front of the AP Parts Auto Co. Unionists from all over town had gathered to show solidarity with the AP strike and to challenge a court injunction limiting the number of pickets.

Armed with tear gas, clubs, and pellet guns, the police first arrested several people. Then they turned on the whole crowd and fired tear gas. The angry workers refused to let the cops push them off the streets. A pitched battle ensued for six hours. Several workers and some cops were hospitalized. The scabs brought in to break the strike stayed locked inside the plant.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

June 1, 1959

Those seeking effective measures in the Negro struggle for equality will have their eyes fastened June 2 on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. That is the day on which the great policy question involved in the battle of Roy Wilkins vs. Robert F. Williams will get an official hearing.

NAACP head Wilkins is formally demanding that Williams, president of the Monroe Union County, North Carolina NAACP branch, be removed from office because of his statements that Negroes should "meet violence with violence" when attacked by racists. Williams is sticking to his guns on the rightness of his prescription for Negroes to arm and defend themselves.

THE MILITANT
Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

June 2, 1934

The Drivers' strike conducted by General Drivers Union No. 574 was settled on the basis of recognition of the union, unconditional reinstatement of all strikers and agreement to arbitrate the demands for wages and hours. Employers had previously granted substantial wage increases in the attempt to head off the strike and avoid recognizing and dealing with the union. The union is now presenting demands for further increases.

Last night's general membership meeting was a rousing affair. Thousands of newly organized workers, the majority of whom never belonged to a union before, crowded the big strike headquarters to hear reports on further plans to strengthen and consolidate the union.

José Martí: Cuban leader of anti-imperialist fight

Mambises **combatants in Cuba's independence war against Spanish colonial domination. José Martí (inset) was leader of fight. He opposed U.S.-imperialist domination of Latin America, while backing labor struggles in United States.**

BY EMILY PAUL

MIAMI—José Martí was an uncompromising fighter for Cuba's independence from Spanish colonial rule and opponent of U.S. imperialism's domination of Latin America. He organized the Cuban Revolutionary Party and was the central organizer of Cuba's second independence war, in which he died in combat in 1895. In addition, Martí is one of the most outstanding figures in Latin American literature, and he also stood out for his writings on education.

Between 1810 and 1825 most of the Spanish colonies in the Americas won their independence. Only Cuba and Puerto Rico remained colonies of Spain. The weight of chattel slavery in those countries retarded their independence struggles because sections of the rising national bourgeoisies there feared that independence would also lead to slave revolts. But those struggles became historically inevitable.

On Oct. 10, 1868, the first war for Cuban independence was launched with the *Grito de Yara* (Cry of Yara). Cuban landowner Carlos Manuel de Céspedes freed his slaves and began what became known as the Ten Years War. The independence fighters, known as *mambises*, quickly expanded their ranks among Cuban toilers, black and white.

Martí was born in Havana on Jan. 28, 1853. At age 15, when the 1868 war broke out, he supported the revolution and was imprisoned in Cuba and later deported to Spain for his opposition to colonial rule. There he published pamphlets appealing for support to the independence struggle.

The Ten Years War ended in 1878 with a compromise, the Pact of Zanjón. The pact freed black slaves that had fought in the war, but did not win independence. Black pro-independence commander Antonio Maceo was among the few who refused to sign the pact.

Another upsurge in Cuba's independence struggle began in 1880 under the leadership of Ten Years War veterans Calixto García and José Maceo, Antonio's brother. Known as La Guerra Chiquita (the Little War), it was crushed within a few months.

15 years in the United States

After his release from prison, Martí studied at the University of Zaragoza in Spain and received degrees in law and philosophy. He returned to Cuba but was banished again for supporting independence. He lived for nearly two years in Mexico, where he raised funds for the Cuban revolutionary movement, spoke out against the oppression of Indians in Mexico, and even represented the workers of Chihuahua at a labor congress.

Martí also lived for a time in Guatemala, and Venezuela. But he spent the longest period of time in the United States, where he moved in 1880, settling in New York in 1881.

During his 15 years in the United States, Martí wrote about American society as a correspondent for prominent newspapers in Argentina, Venezuela, and Mexico, and worked as a teacher and a writer. His perceptive articles covered labor struggles, racism and oppression faced by Blacks and Native Americans, and the fight for women's suffrage. These included essays on Gen. Ulysses Grant, an 1883 memorial meeting in New York for Karl Marx, the first voting of women in Kansas, the superexploitation of Chinese immigrants, and the funeral of the Haymarket Martyrs.

He also spoke out in defense of anticolonial struggles around the world, from the Vietnamese and North Africans under the French boot to the Irish and Indians fighting against British rule. Martí wrote *Nuestra América* (Our America), an article defending the sovereignty of the Americas from U.S. imperialist designs.

During this period he wrote many outstanding works of literature, including novels and the well-known collection of poetry entitled *Versos sencillos* (Simple Verses).

In 1890 he collaborated with Rafael Serra to found La Liga (The League), an educational center for black Cuban exiles. Martí wrote articles opposing racist discrimination, leading the fight against racism within the ranks of the independence movement.

Rise of imperialism

When Martí first arrived in the United States he wrote in admiration of "a country where everyone seems to be his own master." He was attracted to the example of the American republic at a time when capitalism was a revolutionary force for progress over feudalism and all other precapitalist forms. After two deep-going bourgeois democratic revolutions, the United States was the most advanced democratic republic in the world.

Martí lived in the United States at a time when capitalism underwent a transformation: the rise of imperialism. He reported on the increasing dominance of trusts and monopolies and the subservience of the twin ruling parties to them. As he saw the struggles of working people unfold and the imperialist rulers in Washington begin to look hungrily southward at Latin America, his views shifted.

"What is becoming apparent," he wrote in 1889, "is that the nature of the North American government is gradually changing its fundamental reality. Under the traditional labels of Republican and Democrat, with no innovation other than the contingent circumstances of place and character, the republic is becoming plutocratic and imperialistic."

"We love the country of Lincoln as much as we fear the country of Cutting," he wrote that year. Francis Cutting was a U.S. politician who advocated annexing Cuba.

Organizer of 1895 independence war

By 1892 Martí dedicated himself exclusively to organizing for Cuba's independence. He began to publish and edit the pro-independence paper *La Patria*. Bringing together Antonio Maceo, Máximo Gómez, and other leaders, he organized the Cuban Revolutionary Party with the immediate purpose of fighting for the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico and the longer-range goal of preventing U.S. expansion across the Americas. The party drew solid support among Cuban immigrant tobacco workers in Florida and other Southern states.

By 1894 Martí began to organize for revolutionary action, concerned about U.S. military actions in Hawaii that would soon lead to its annexation, and Washington's moves to annex Cuba by taking advantage of Spain's weakening colonial grip. The Cuban Revolutionary Party stepped up its activities, and on Feb. 24, 1895, the second independence war was launched. Martí went back to Cuba to join the revolution.

In an unfinished letter, Martí wrote on May 18, 1895, "I am in daily danger of giving my life for my country and duty, for I understand that duty and have the courage to carry it out—the duty of preventing the United States from spreading through the Antilles as Cuba gains its independence, and from overpowering with that additional strength our lands of America. All I have done so far, and all I will do, is for this purpose."

He added, "I have lived in the monster and I know its entrails; my sling is David's." Martí died in combat the next day.

At the end of 1898, as the independence fight advanced, gaining mass support, and Spain was virtually defeated, Washington intervened in what became the Spanish-Cuban-American war—one of the first wars of the imperialist epoch. Spanish rule was replaced by a U.S.-installed military government. While gaining formal independence in 1901, Cuba remained a semicolony of Washington.

It took another revolution to fulfill Martí's aspirations. That was the Cuban Revolution of 1959, when workers and farmers, under the leadership of the Rebel Army headed by Fidel Castro, took state power and overthrew capitalist rule, opening the socialist revolution in the Americas. Cuba became the first free territory in the Americas, pointing the road forward for humanity. Today José Martí's political legacy remains at the heart of Cuba's living revolutionary history.

Canada high school walkout backs Korean youth

BY TONI GORTON

TORONTO—A walkout by fellow students helped force the Keswick High School administration and police to back down from expelling and charging 15-year-old Jack Kang with assault for defending himself against a racist attack.

Some 400 students, dressed in black, walked out of school April 27 in protest against the suspension of Kang, a Korean-born youth who had defended himself against an assault by another student. Mathew Winch, who organized the walkout, said the students wanted to stand up against bullying and racism. Keswick has fewer than 10 Asian students.

A fight had broken out during a gym class game of speedball. A student called Jack Kang a "f… Chinese," which led to pushing and shoving. Punched in the mouth, Kang, a black belt in tae kwon do, struck back at the other student and broke his nose.

Jack said he heard the voice of his father, a martial arts instructor, running through his head: Fight only as a last resort, only in self-defense, only if given no choice, and only with the left hand.

Both youths were suspended from school, but the school board demanded Kang be expelled from all schools in the region. Only the Korean youth was charged with assault, charges that the police refused to drop despite a request by the parents of the other boy.

After the student walkout and broader public outcry, the York Regional School Board retreated, lifting the suspension and dropping the expulsion threat. The assault charges were dropped May 13. Amid growing support for Kang, the prosecuting attorney concluded that it would not be in the "public interest" to prosecute the case.

Keswick is an urban community with a predominantly white population within the town of Georgina, one hour north of Toronto. It was the scene of a 2007 series of attacks, known locally as "nipper-tipping," on Asian shore fishermen that led to protests by Asian community organizations and an investigation by the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

The Kang family came to Canada in 2004 and settled in Keswick two years later.

Following the incident Chul Kang, the youth's father, said he initially considered moving the family but decided against it. "I don't want to run away. If another Asian kid comes to this school, what happens to him? Will he run into problems? Will they think they can just kick him out? I don't want to set that example," he said.

The outpouring of support strengthened the family's resolve to stay. "I'm not going to move," Chul Kang said the day of the court decision. "I have to stay now, after seeing so many neighbors on our side."

Cuban revolutionary speaks from U.S. jail

Interview with Gerardo Hernández, one of Cuban Five: first of five parts

The following is the first installment of an interview with Gerardo Hernández, one of five Cuban revolutionaries who have been held in U.S. prisons on frame-up charges for more than 10 years. The April 1 interview was conducted by Saul Landau, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., who is making a documentary on the case. It first appeared in the online magazine *Progreso Weekly*, published in five parts in both the original Spanish and in English. The *Militant* will be reprinting all five parts in the coming weeks.

The U.S. Justice Department approved the request of the film crew headed by Landau to interview Hernández by phone with a prison official listening in. They were not allowed inside the prison, but were not required to submit written questions in advance and were given permission to conduct the interview in Spanish. The interview lasted well over an hour, with the film crew taking complete and careful notes.

Known internationally as the Cuban Five, Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, and René González have been in prison since September 1998. They had been gathering information on counterrevolutionary Cuban American groups that operate from south Florida with Washington's complicity and have a history of violent attacks on Cuba.

The five were framed and convicted in 2001 on charges ranging from failing to register as agents of a foreign government to "conspiracy to commit espionage" and were given sentences ranging from 15 years to life. Hernández, who was also falsely accused of "conspiracy to commit murder," was sentenced to two life terms plus 15 years, and is currently being held in the federal penitentiary in Victorville, California.

A 2005 federal appeals court ruling that the five had not received a fair trial because of the hostile political atmosphere in Miami was reversed a year later by the same court on review. In 2008 the court ruled that the sentences against Guerrero, Labañino, and Fernando González were excessive and sent those cases back for resentencing.

The five have appealed their cases to the U.S. Supreme Court. A decision by the Supreme Court on whether it will hear the appeal is expected in June.

Comments in brackets are by Landau. Footnotes are by the *Militant.*

❖

Saul Landau: What was your mission and why?

Gerardo Hernández: In the U.S. in general and Florida specifically, many groups contemplated and carried out acts of terrorism in Cuba. We were collecting information on Alpha 66, the F4 Commandos, the Cuban American National Foundation, and Brothers to the Rescue. Many years have passed and I hope that nothing has escaped me but I think those were the principal groups in which we were working.

Landau: What did you learn through your infiltration?

Hernández: The first thing that struck me was the impunity with which these groups operated, violating the laws of the U.S.: The Neutrality Acts [of the 1790s] that supposedly means no organization can use American soil to commit terrorism against another country.

In the case of Alpha 66, the operatives would take a fast boat and shoot at targets along Cuba's coast. When they would return to Miami, they would hold a press conference and openly say what they had done.

And when someone would ask, "Hey, doesn't that violate the neutrality laws," they would reply: "Not really, because first we went to one of the Keys somewhere in the Caribbean and then we went to Cuba. So technically, we didn't leave from the U.S." They did this openly and no U.S. agency took responsibility.

Landau: In what years?

Hernández: This has been going on since 1959.[1] I personally began dealing with this in the 1990s. Since I've been here in prison in Victorville [California], about 3 years ago, I think in 2005, they arrested a Cuban right here in this country with an arsenal, all kinds of weapons in his house. And the first thing he said was, "Well, I am a member of Alpha 66 and I'm using these weapons in the struggle for Cuban freedom." That was his defense.

Landau: Were the Cuban Five all volunteers? How does one prepare to infiltrate an enemy group in an enemy country? And then act as if you were enemies of your country and friends of them?

Hernández: Yes, all volunteers. In my case, I'm not a career military man. I studied to be a diplomat. It took me 6 years to complete my degree in International and Political Relations. Afterwards, I went to Angola,[2] as part of a voluntary international mission.

Cuban Five gathered information on rightist groups like Alpha 66 (Everglades training camp above) and Brothers to the Rescue.

Gerardo Hernández, with his mother, Carmen Nordelo, during prison visit. Hernández and his wife, Adriana Pérez, have been unable to see each other for ten and a half years due to Washington's visa denials.

And while I was in Angola it seems I sparked the attention of the Cuban intelligence services, and when I got back, they approached me with this mission. They said, "We know you studied to be a diplomat, but you know our country has a certain situation with these terrorist groups that are coming from Florida to commit all kinds of crimes and we need someone to go and fulfill these tasks."

I could have said, "No, I studied diplomacy, I want to be a diplomat," but Cubans, those who were raised with the Revolution, know that during the past 50 years our country has faced almost a war environment.

In Cuba, he who doesn't know personally a victim of terrorism, at least knows about the plane that exploded over Barbados, killing 73 people. Who doesn't know about the bomb that killed Fabio di Celmo, just to mention a few acts?[3] There was a pre-school where the counterrevolutionaries set a gas tank on fire. These actions are part of the Cuban consciousness. So, I told the Intelligence officers, "Yes, I am prepared to fulfill this mission."

Landau: How did you manage to infiltrate these groups? How did you convince them, people like José Basulto [head of Brothers to the Rescue[4]], for example?

Hernández: For Cubans in this country, everything is connected. Cubans in the United States have enormous privileges, ones that no other citizens of the world have. Cubans arrive by any route, including with false passports, and the only thing they have to say is, "I come seeking freedom," and right away the U.S. gives them all the documents they need.

So, in the case of Basulto, for example, one of our comrades who infiltrated Brothers to the Rescue had originally "stolen" a plane from Cuba. René [González, another of the Cuban Five] flew his plane here and, as is the custom, he was received as a hero. He got lots of attention and, later joined the Brothers. His job was collecting information about that organization.

So, if you ask me how, I say that we used as our foundation for infiltration the very privileges all Cubans receive when they arrive in this country; even those who took others with them, and have hijacked airplanes, or have put a gun up to a pilot's head. Look at people like Leonel Matías, who killed someone on a boat, arrived here on that boat, with his gun—and the body was even discovered.[5] But despite all of that, he didn't have to face any trial in the U.S. justice system. Those people are automatically pardoned. So using exactly that kind of advantage, we were able to penetrate these organizations to a certain level.

When I mention Brothers to the Rescue, some might think, "This is a humanitarian organization that rescued *balseros* [Cubans trying to cross the Florida Straits on rafts]." On the contrary, while their activities were limited to rescuing rafters, they had no problems with the Cuban authorities.

What people generally don't know is that José Basulto, the head of that organization, has a long record. He trained with the CIA, and infiltrated Cuba in the 1960s. In 1962, he came to Cuba on a fast boat and fired shells at the Cuban coast, including targeting a hotel. Even Basulto, with all his known history, had no problems while he limited his actions to rescuing rafters.

In 1995, however, the United States

Continued on page 9

1. The revolutionary struggle in Cuba led by the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista on Jan. 1, 1959.
2. Between November 1975 and May 1991, more than 375,000 Cuban volunteers responded to a request for assistance from the newly independent government of Angola and helped defend that country against invasions by the South African apartheid regime's armed forces. Among them were three of the Cuban Five: Gerardo Hernández, Fernando González, and René González.
3. Orlando Bosch, Luis Posada Carriles, and other counterrevolutionaries were implicated in an October 1976 bombing of a Cuban passenger plane over Barbados. Fabio di Celmo, an Italian tourist, was killed in 1997 at Havana's Hotel Copacabana, by a bomb detonated by a Salvadoran who said he was hired by Posada Carriles.
4. On Feb. 4, 1996, Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces shot down two planes flown by members of Brothers to the Rescue, a U.S.-based rightist group, after they provocatively entered Cuban airspace. The group had repeatedly violated Cuban airspace and ignored warnings to cease their hostile actions. The U.S. government charged Hernández with conspiracy to commit murder, claiming he bore responsibility for the Cuban government's action in shooting down the planes.
5. In 1994 Leonel Matías hijacked a boat in Cuba and killed a naval officer in the process.

Recommended Reading

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution

by Jack Barnes

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 had a worldwide political impact, including on workers and youth in the imperialist heartland.

$10

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Land struggle only resolved by toilers taking power

Printed below is an excerpt from Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru *by Hugo Blanco, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for May. The book tells the story of the battles by peasants in southern Peru for land and justice in the early 1960s. Blanco, one of the leaders of this movement, was arrested in 1963 and sentenced to a 25-year prison term for his activities. He was freed in 1970, under pressure from an international campaign. The piece below is from a letter Blanco wrote in January 1969 from the El Frontón Island prison to a peasant leader. Copyright © 1972 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.*

Peasant union in La Convención valley, Peru, marches in early 1960s demonstration. Tens of thousands of peasants in southern Peru took part in mass uprisings during this period demanding land and rights. Sign reads: "Land or death—we will win."

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY HUGO BLANCO

We must always keep in mind that the historic problem of the peasant, around which all others revolve, is the problem of the *land*. Another thing we must never forget is that your struggle is only a part of the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters, and that the road to solving all the problems of the peasantry is to seize the political power from the hands of the exploiters and form a workers' and peasants' government.

Nothing short of this will fully solve the problems of the peasantry. Therefore, in all the efforts we make to win small victories, we must not lose sight of the fact that these victories represent only a step forward in our liberation struggle.

It might seem strange that we, who affirm that only with the seizure of state power by the workers will their problems be definitively solved, are also the ones who attribute the greatest importance to each victory won by the workers, however small it may be.

We consider each success a step forward, mainly because the *way* it has been achieved educates the peasantry, especially when it has a well-tested revolutionary leadership. We gain each victory, no matter how small it may be, through the collective and militant action of the peasantry. At all times we recommend collective action, unity of action, and after each success we show how it resulted from this mass action.

We always show that the authorities are the class enemies of the peasants, and that if they have made some concession, it is not because of their "sense of justice" but because of their fear of the wrath of the masses and in order to co-opt them precisely by making them believe that they are "just authorities."

The best thing we gain from each victory, aside from the victory itself, is the *lesson* for the masses. Each triumph serves to give them more confidence in themselves, in the power of their united action. Each triumph serves to show them that we are in a war of exploited against exploiters. With this criterion, even defeats can be educational.

We function this way because we are profoundly convinced that only through their own actions will the workers be able to free themselves, and that therefore it is most important that they have confidence in their own ability and that they learn how to fight. When we accomplish this, we will have accomplished everything.

For this reason, those leaders who attribute victories to the sense of justice of some official or to the cleverness of a lawyer or to their own ability, we consider dangerous traitors. Although we do not totally disregard such factors, we must constantly make clear that the fundamental force is the workers' fighting unity. Sometimes we win a victory without carrying out any act of force. That is because even the suggestion, even the possibility of forceful action intimidates the enemy.

I consider, comrade, that these general principles will serve you in your future struggle better than a thousand bits of detailed advice that I might give you. Nevertheless, while I can, I will continue collaborating with you with all my strength.

Let us move on to the concrete matter. There are five demands that you raise: (1) Return of stolen lands (2) Abolition of the abuses by the "distinguished citizens" or *llaqhta taytas* (3) Purchase of a hacienda (4) A school (5) Abolition of the *yerbaje* [peasants' payments to a landlord] in money, in kind, or in labor.

We see that all this can be solved by only one measure: the first thing that should be done is to form a union of tenants and freeholders.

The point is that the first step has to be the formation of one single union to which the tenant farmers from various haciendas and the members of various communal villages will belong: a union with doors that are open to all peasants. Later on, when it is stronger, we will see if committees evolve for each hacienda or communal village, or if several unions evolve and are grouped in a district federation. For now, I believe it is necessary to concentrate your forces and form one single union.

This union will be the body that decides what to do with respect to the land problem. For my part, I think that the purchase of that hacienda is a mistake; not only because the land belongs to the peasant, and he has no reason to pay a cent for it, but also, chiefly, because it fosters divisions among the peasants and thereby weakens your movement and strengthens the enemy. That is the bitter lesson we learned in Ongoy, and in many other cases, when the "buyers" went over to the side of the enemy against their brothers.

You too will understand what happens when some have money and others do not; some have more and others less; and when the landlord proposes a price, those most readily disposed to accept it will be those who have the most money. There may be some who buy larger tracts than others, become little *gamonales* [landlords]. In summary, I feel that the purchase, whether direct or through the intermediary of the famous agrarian reform, would be a step backward, not forward. In any event, the decision must be made by the majority of the peasant masses, when they are organized.

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EDITORIAL

Free the Cuban Five now!

The call from a youth conference in Havana for international actions in support of the Cuban Five June 6–8 is an important opportunity to broaden the campaign to win their freedom, and to explain why their defense is in the interest of all working people.

The five Cuban revolutionaries have been held in U.S. prisons for more than 10 years on frame-up charges ranging from "conspiracy to commit espionage" to, in the case of Gerardo Hernández, "conspiracy to commit murder."

Everything about this case exposes the way the so-called justice system in the United States is used to attack the rights of working people.

Every day they are kept in prison is another day of injustice. Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González, and René González—known internationally as the Cuban Five—must be freed.

The FBI secretly broke into their homes, copied documents, and listened in on their conversations. Unable to find any evidence they were "spying," Washington brought trumped-up conspiracy charges against them. Documents seized from the five's own computers were classified "secret" and their attorneys were given limited access to them. The government then selectively used and manipulated those same documents to bolster the frame-up.

In spite of an atmosphere of intimidation in Miami, the court refused to grant a change of venue. Numerous Blacks were excluded from the jury with no explanation. And in an attempt to break them, the five were placed in the hole—solitary confinement—for 17 months before and seven weeks after the trial. The wives of Hernández and René González have been denied the right to see their husbands for nearly 11 and 9 years respectively.

Government tactics like these are routinely used against working people and in other cases, including the Fort Dix Five in New Jersey, Troy Davis in Georgia, and the Liberty City Six in Miami.

The Cuban Five set an example for all those fighting against the class "justice" meted out under capitalism. They continue to speak out from prison and to conduct themselves there as revolutionaries on the frontlines of the U.S. class struggle. Their resolve, dignity, optimism, and commitment to the Cuban Revolution and the working class shine through in the recent interview by Saul Landau with Gerardo Hernández.

The campaign to free the Cuban Five is part of the fight to defend our rights and as such should be supported by working people the world over.

Free the Cuban Five now!

Imprisoned Cuban revolutionary speaks

Continued from page 7

and Cuba signed migratory agreements specifying that boats intercepted at sea would no longer be brought to the United States; rather they would be returned to Cuba. At that point, people stopped contributing money to Basulto and his organization because, they said: "Why are we going to give money to Basulto's organization? When he calls the Coast Guard, are they just going to return those rafters to Cuba?"

So, when Basulto saw his business in danger, he invented this invasion of Cuban airspace [in 1995] as a way to keep people donating money. We presented this evidence in our case. If the press hasn't wanted to pay much attention to this . . . well, they don't want to touch such material. It doesn't behoove them. I am referring to the major press. The documents are all there showing how Basulto and the Brothers to the Rescue were trying out handmade weapons in order to introduce them in Cuba.

When Basulto testified at our trial [in 2001], our attorneys asked him what he intended to do with all those weapons. All this is in the trial record, though no one seems to want to pay attention to it. People tend to talk about the Brothers to the Rescue as if they were a humanitarian organization, omitting the part about terrorism; like they omit the fact that the FBI also had penetrated that organization. The FBI had someone inside the group giving them information on the Brothers' activities. Why would the FBI penetrate a humanitarian organization?

(To be continued)

2 million displaced from war in Pakistan

Continued from front page

ment in mid-February in exchange for the implementation of sharia, Islamic law, in Swat and several surrounding districts in the country's North West Frontier Province. But Taliban forces did not lay down their arms. Instead they used the respite to expand their military operations, including into Buner, about 60 miles from Islamabad, prompting the government's military assault.

"We're going to go into Waziristan, all these regions, with army operations," Pakistani president Asif Zardari told the London *Times* May 17. "Swat is just the start."

During the first two weeks of May, 1.45 million people fled the fighting in Pakistan's northwestern region, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Many unable to pile into trucks or tractors are fleeing on foot, and are being turned away from nearby overcrowded refugee camps.

According to Amnesty International, 700,000 civilians remain stranded amid the fighting in Swat, facing food shortages, electricity cutoffs, and lack of diesel fuel for hospital generators. The group says the Taliban shows no regard for civilians' safety and the Pakistani army is "pursuing a scorched earth policy."

In the village of Goga, where most of the 4,000 residents have fled, Ziaul Abrar, a teacher remaining there, told the London *Times*, "There were only 10–15 Taliban in the village but the whole place has been bombed. We were displaced, our houses destroyed, our crops destroyed and our cattle killed to target just a few militants. We want the elimination of the Taliban but this is no way to do it."

With the expanded fighting, the Pentagon is increasing the number of U.S. Special Forces operating in Pakistan.

According to the *Washington Post*, 80 to 100 U.S. Special Operations forces and 35 trainers have been operating inside Pakistan for some time, working with Pakistani special forces and the paramilitary Frontier Corps. Unnamed U.S. officials told the *Journal* that another 25 to 50 Special Forces are also being dispatched to train Frontier Corps soldiers in Pakistan's southwest Baluchistan Province.

Washington is planning to create a new Pakistan Counterinsurgency Capabilities Fund, led by Gen. David Petraeus, the head of U.S. Central Command. The fund would spend $400 million in the next year and as much as $3 billion over five years. Promoting this perspective, Marine Commandant James Conway told members of Congress that it will be difficult to make progress in Afghanistan if forces in Pakistan "aren't having parallel success."

Meeting with President Obama in early May, Zardari had requested that his government be allowed to use Predator drones.

Washington has opposed such an arrangement, fearing that information about Predator attacks could be leaked by Pakistani intelligence services to targets.

More than 25 people were killed in a U.S. drone attack in North Waziristan Province May 16, the 19th such attack in northwest Pakistan along the Afghan border this year.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives May 15 approved the Obama administration's $96.7 billion supplemental request to fund the U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq between now and the end of September. Included in the bill is about $1 billion for Pakistan.

Actions for Davis

Continued from front page

demanding that Georgia governor Sonny Perdue use his influence to stop the injustice against Davis.

Sara Totonchi, chair of Georgians for Alternatives to the Death Penalty, pointed out that of the 100 people on death row in Georgia, seven have been exonerated based on faulty eyewitness testimony.

Seven of the nine prosecution witnesses who claimed to have seen Davis shoot MacPhail have since recanted or contradicted their stories, with several saying they were pressured by the cops to finger Davis. No weapon was found nor any physical evidence produced connecting Davis to the shooting.

Juan Melendez, originally from Puerto Rico, spent 18 years on Florida's death row before being exonerated. "An innocent man can never be released from the grave," Melendez said, speaking at the rally. He urged that Troy Davis be given the opportunity to prove his innocence.

People of all ages participated in the rally. Caitie Leary, a junior at Georgia State University and a member of the GSU Progressive Student Alliance, told the *Militant* this fight is important because "what's happening to Davis is wrong." GSU sophomore Bethany Wright said she was "appalled by the appeals court denial of Davis's right to fight for his life."

Kimberly Hicks said she joined in the rally to support Davis because of "the inept representation at his trial and new information that might exonerate him. I think that the state has an obligation to hear new evidence. If they're not willing to do that, who's next?"

Others participating in the rally program included Georgia state senators Vincent Fort and Nan Orrock.

Rachele Fruit contributed to this article.

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BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK—More than 300 people rallied in Union Square May 19 to demand freedom for Troy Davis. "We're here to say we're going to fight to save his life," Thenjiwe McHarris, an organizer for Amnesty International, told the crowd.

Lawrence Hayes, a former death row prisoner who was paroled in 1991, demanded that Davis be "granted clemency or given a pardon."

There were also speakers from the NAACP, National Conference of Black Lawyers, National Lawyers Guild, and National Action Network.

Yusef Salaam, falsely convicted of rape in the 1989 Central Park jogger case when he was a teenager, spoke, demanding Davis be freed. The convictions of Salaam and four others were overturned in 2002.

Eunice Kim, a 16-year-old high school student from Long Island, came to the rally with a classmate. "This case is not just about Troy Davis, it's about human rights," she said. "Our own rights are only guaranteed when everyone's rights are guaranteed."

"There's a lot of e-mail campaigns for Troy going on and that's OK," she said. "But what's really important is to come out and protest with other people."

Zack Moh, 18, a student at LaGuardia College, learned about Troy Davis for the first time at the rally. "I've never been a big fan of the police," Moh said, "and then to hear how the witnesses were pressured by the cops to testify against Troy Davis, that's crazy. His case deserves to be heard by the Supreme Court."

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BY SUSAN LAMONT

WASHINGTON—"At our founding 100 years ago, the NAACP began in the struggle against legal lynching, where a Black man could be taken out of his jail cell, hung from a tree, and people would stand around and take pictures with his body," Hilary Shelton, NAACP Washington Bureau director, told a spirited rally of more than 100 here.

"Today, a young man faces the same situation, and there are others on death row like him. That's why we must commit to the fight to end the death penalty," Shelton said.

Students from area campuses, political activists, and others filled the meeting room at the All Souls Unitarian Church. Other speakers included exonerated death row prisoner Shujaa Graham, U.S. representative Hank Johnson of Georgia, and Amnesty International executive director Larry Cox.